

RADLN

MATERIAL CULTURE

105

Accord

ing to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na*ji't'eri*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*haza'te*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*nowazi'arra*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two central poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, b).

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

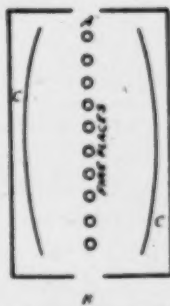


FIG. 22. a. CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE. b. CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

614 have been subjected to literary and shamanistic remodeling. Only
173 the shorter accounts show in their subject matter and presentation certain affinities to the origin myths of the other clans, the longer ones being entirely different. Another cause for these marked differences may lie in the circumstance that since the longer accounts were associated with semi-cosmetic ceremonies, the war-bundle feasts, they were known to but few individuals in the clan, whereas the shorter legends could be learned by anyone who chose to pay for them. To this must also be added the fact that presumably some of the accounts current were based on Learsay's knowledge.

[554] The Bear clan was, next to the Thunderbird clan, the most important in the tribe. Its lodge was either in the center of the village, opposite that of the Thunderbird clan, or at the extreme end, depending upon the scheme of village organization accepted as correct. In it were confined the prisoners of war and the insignia of office possessed by the clan, such as the so-called standards, really crooks, and the so-called *namazinirini*. Some individuals also claimed that unmarried men were allowed to sleep in the lodge, although they were not clear as to whether they did this in order to guard the prisoners confined there or simply used it as a club house.

[533] The clan songs are given on page 235. The same songs are used when gathering the clansmen together to select soldiers.

614 Apart from the war bundle or war bundles, the Bear clan possessed
778 three insignia—a war club of a definite shape, the curiously whittled baton of authority called *namazinirini*, and the crooks used in battle called *Ankr'ruu*. Whenever the clan was exercising any of its functions the leader would always hold in his hands the *namazinirini*.

The functions of the clan were probably the most important in the tribe and were entirely disciplinary. The author obtained the following description from an old Winnebago:

614 The Bear clansmen are the soldiers or sergeants-at-arms of the tribe. They have
625 complete control of everything concerning discipline. Whenever the Winnebago are traveling or moving (i. e., on their various seasonal moves), the Bear clansmen lead, and wherever they decide to stop, there the leader would put his stick in the ground and the other Bear clansmen would do the same, arranging them all in a row pointing toward the direction in which they were going. The main body of the tribe would follow at a certain distance. No member of the tribe would dare pass ahead of the row of sticks. If, for instance, the tribe was on the fall move and traveling toward a country in which there was plenty of game, should any individual go back and around the sticks in order to kill game on his own account, the soldiers (Bear clansmen) would, as soon as he was detected, go over to his lodge and burn it up with all its contents and break all his dishes. The only thing they would spare would be his life and that of the other members of his family. If the one who had transgressed the rules made any attempt at resistance he would be severely whipped. If he refused to submit to this and took up his fire arms to fight, the soldiers would stand there calmly, but the moment he made an attempt to shoot they would kill him. In such a case nothing would be said either by the rest of the tribe or his relatives about

Radin]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

515

men) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.)

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

Speech of host.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance. Thus they did.

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them

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RADIN]

THE (LAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

517

with their canes, and if they did this such a person would surely die." For that reason do they warn them not to sleep. However, as soon as the men have thrown the buckskins outside then any child who desires may sleep without danger. [513] ● [776]

After the song had been sung he (first guest) speaks as follows:

Speech of first guest.—"Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. By coming in connection with the drum I and my relatives have been strengthened. It is good. To such an extent have we annoyed the drum. Host and members of his band who are seated here, I greet you. As many as there are [who are seated within the lodge] impersonating the spirits, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the attendant takes the drum and places it in the middle of the lodge.

The host rises and speaks as follows:

Speech of host.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. What I have longed for, that you have completed for me. All night have you prayed for me. It is good. Blessings did the spirits give your grandfathers. What you were to say to the spirits that they (your ancestors) told you and that you have repeated here all night. It is good. You weren't selfish in your actions. You wished to obtain something for all of us. It is good. I am thankful to you, for you must have inconvenienced yourselves greatly by sitting here all night and you must in addition have suffered from hunger. Now in addition to the kettle that has been placed in honor of those who live in the east, the Night Spirits, the last band to sing will also receive a head. A kettle is also to be placed in honor of the Earth."

Then he said that food was to be placed in honor of the Moon, as well as a kettle (for soup). Then they named a person to be in charge of a kettle in honor of the Water. Then they called upon one to take charge of the kettle in honor of the Eagle. Then they placed one in charge of the kettle for Porcupine. Then he (the host) spoke again.

Second speech of host.—"I realize that our grandfathers did not bless me much and that I have hardly enough food to go around, but we will nevertheless do it, for it is said that our grandfathers will not be insulted thereby, grandfather said. That is why we give this feast, however little it be that we obtain. And I am not the only one, for all my relatives are doing the best in their power that we may obtain (blessings). That is why we give the feast. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

¹⁴ They speak of the Night Spirits appearing toward dawn as old in reference to the gray light of morning which they compare to the white hair of an old person. For the same reason these old Night Spirits have names just as an old man has a name.

Reminiscences of Childhood

We were three boys of whom I was the youngest and at night we slept together. In cold weather we fought as to who was to sleep in the middle, since whoever got that place was warm; for while those at either end used to pull the cover from each other, the one in the middle was always covered. Even after I grew up I always took the cover away from the particular person with whom I happened to be sleeping. I would always fold it under me, for it had become a habit with me to take the cover away from the other person whenever I slept on the outside.

We always ate out of one dish. At times we did not have enough food on hand and then I would always try to get enough by eating very fast. In this way I often succeeded in depriving the others of their proper portion. Sometimes, on the other hand, I would purposely eat slowly and then when the others were finished, I would say that I had not been given enough and so get some of their food. In this way I developed a habit, that I still have, of eating fast. Even after I grew up, whenever I ate with other people, I always finished sooner than they did.

Another habit acquired then was the ability to go without food for a whole day while traveling. I did not mind this in the least, for during my fasting I had grown accustomed to going without food for long periods of time.

In the summer, at the season when people pick berries, I used to go around visting, sometimes for a day, sometimes for a longer period. I would often receive